ANINI'S GRAMMATICAL

SUTRAS

VOL. 1 PART 1

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॥ अष्टकं पाणिनीयम् ॥

# PĀṆINI'S

EIGHT BOOKS

OF

# GRAMMATICAL SŪTRAS:

EDITED

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

AND COMMENTARY,

BY

WILLIAM GOONETILLEKE.

VOLUME I. PART I.

18562

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# ADVERTISEMENT.

I PROPOSE to publish, by subscription, the text of the sūtras of Pāṇini and the vṛitti of the Calcutta Paṇḍits, as contained in the first volume of Dr. Otto Böhtlingk's edition of 1839, now either out of print or become exceedingly scarce, together with an English translation, and a commentary founded principally on the Mahābāṣya of Patanjali, the Bhāṣyapradīpa of Kaiyaṭa, the Paribhāṣenduśekhara of Nāgojībhaṭṭa, the Kāśikā of Vāmana and the Siddhānta Kaumudī of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita.

The errors in the vṛitti will be corrected and no pains will be spared in the endeavour to present to the student of Sanskrit as pure a text as can be expected.

The work will also contain an introduction, an alphabetical list of the sūtras, and an alphabetical glossary of technical terms with references to the sūtras in which they occur.

The portion of the work now issued, consisting of the śiva-sūtras and the first five sūtras of the first chapter of the first book or lecture, will enable the reader to form some idea of the work, but a few details in explanation of its plan and arrangement may here be given.

The sūtras, vṛittis, translation and commentary are not separately printed, but appear together in the following order, viz., the sūtras printed in large Devanāgarī type, the vṛitti in smaller Devanāgarī type, the translation in "English" size type, and the commentary in Pica.

The translation is that of the vṛittis, but the equivalents of words actually occurring in the sūtras are printed in the translation in small capitals, so that, while a separate translation of a sūtra is not given, the student will find no difficulty in making it out from the translation of the vṛitti.

Vārttikas Paribhāṣās and Kārikās, when necessary, are quoted, translated and explained, and are printed in different kinds of Devanāgarī type in order to give them due prominence.

A table showing the system of transliteration which I have employed is subjoined.

No correct estimate of the length to which the work may extend can be formed at present, but it is likely that the whole may be comprised in about 1,200 to 1,500 pages demy-octavo.

The work will be issued in monthly parts of, at least, 48 pages each, twelve such parts forming a volume. The price of each part is One Rupee to subscribers and One Rupee and a Half to non-subscribers exclusive of postage. Subscribers are

expected to pay for twelve parts or one volume in advance on their receiving notice that the list of subscribers is closed and that the work is in the press.

The present part is issued with the object of ascertaining whether a sufficient number of subscribers can be found to meet the expense of publication.

I am aware that many errors and imperfections may be found in my work, but fair criticism from scholars is earnestly invited and will be thankfully received and noticed when necessary.

In order to show the difficulties now experienced in mastering the sūtras of Pāṇini and the importance of these sūtras to the student of Sanskrit, I need do no more than select the following opinions of a few from among the large number of eminent Orientalists who have borne testimony to the superior character of Pāṇini's work :—

*Westergaard*—"Pāṇini, quamquam non antiquissimus grammaticorum, grammaticæ tamen quasi pater est, ejusque opus omnibus, qui accuratam linguæ Sanscritæ scientiam habere cupiunt, diligenter est perscrutandum et cognoscendum."

*Böhtlingk*—"Das älteste grammatische Lehrbuch, welches vollständig auf uns herabgekommen ist, sind die Sūtras des Pāṇini. Alle frühern grammatischen Werke scheinen durch sein Werk allmählig verdrängt und in Vergessenheit gerathen zu sein.....Pāṇini, Kātyāyana und Patanjali sind die drei heilig gesprochenen Grammatiker der Inder. Einen höhern Schiedsrichter, als diese, giebt es nicht."

*Colebrooke*—"The studied brevity of the Pāṇinīya Sūtras, renders them in the highest degree obscure; even with the knowledge of the key to their interpretation, the student finds them ambiguous. In the application of them when understood, he discovers many seeming contradictions; and with every exertion of practised memory, he must experience the utmost difficulty in combining rules dispersed in apparent confusion through different portions of Pāṇini's eight lectures.....He wanders in an intricate maze, and the clew of the labyrinth is continually slipping from his hands."

*Goldstücker*—"Pāṇini's Grammar is the centre of a vast and important branch of the ancient literature. No work has struck deeper roots than his in the soil of the scientific development in India. It is the standard of accuracy in speech,—the grammatical basis of the Vedik commentaries. It is appealed to by every scientific writer whenever he meets with a linguistic difficulty."

*Ballantyne*—"It is a great mistake to suppose that the marvellously condensed grammar of Pāṇini (the chief of the Sanskrit grammarians) is designedly obscure. The charge of intentional obscurity might with equal reason be brought against the Binomial Theorem, which Newton assuredly never intended as an enigma."

*Max Müller*—"There is no form, regular or irregular, in the whole Sanskrit language, which is not provided in the grammar of Pāṇini and his commentators. It is the perfection of a merely empirical analysis of language, unsurpassed, nay even unapproached, by anything in the grammatical literature of other nations.....There are but few among our very best comparative philologists who are able to understand Pāṇini. Professor Benfey, whose powers of work are truly astounding, stands almost alone in his minute knowledge of that greatest of all grammarians. Neither Bopp, nor Pott, nor Curtius, nor Corssen, ever attempted to master Pāṇini's wonderful system."

*Monier Williams*—"Pāṇini's extraordinary work consisted of about four thousand sūtras or aphorisms, composed with the symbolic brevity of the most concise *memoria technica*. Each aphorism, in itself more dark and mystic than the darkest and most mystical of oracles, was pregnant with an endless progeny of interpretations and commentaries, sometimes as obscure as the original. It cannot be wondered, when all the subtlety of the Indian intellect expended itself in this direction, that the science of Sanskrit grammar should have been refined and elaborated by the Hindūs to a degree wholly unknown in the other languages of the world."

Intending subscribers are requested to fill up the accompanying form and to send it to my address without delay, in order that the manuscript may be at once sent to the Publishers.

W. GOONETILLEKE.

*Kandy, Ceylon, May*, 1882.

# SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION EMPLOYED IN THIS WORK.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| अ | a | क् | k | थ् | th |
| आ | ā | ख् | kh | द् | d |
| इ | i | ग् | g | ध् | dh |
| ई | ī | घ् | gh | न् | n |
| उ | u | ङ् | ṅ | प् | p |
| ऊ | ū | च् | c | फ् | ph |
| ऋ | ṛi | छ् | ch | ब् | b |
| ॠ | ṛī | ज् | j | भ् | bh |
| ऌ | ḷi | झ् | jh | म् | m |
| ॡ | ḷī | ञ् | ṅ | य् | y |
| ए | e | ट् | ṭ | र् | r |
| ऐ | ai | ठ् | ṭh | ल् | l |
| ओ | o | ड् | ḍ | व् | v |
| औ | au | ढ् | ḍh | श् | ś |
| अं | aṁ | ण् | ṇ | ष् | ṣ |
| अः | aḥ | त् | t | स् | s |

ह् h ळ् ḷ

# ॥ अष्टकं पाणिनीयम् ॥

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## । श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

## HOMAGE TO GAṆEŚA.

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येनाक्षरसमाम्नायमधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।
कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥ १ ॥
येन धौता गिरः पुंसां विमलैः शब्दवारिभिः ।
तमश्चाज्ञानजं भिन्नं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥ २ ॥

Salutation to Pāṇini, by whom a complete grammar was composed after having learnt the arrangement of letters from the Great Īśvara.

Salutation to Pāṇini, by whom the speech of men was cleansed with the limpid water of words and the darkness originating from ignorance was dispelled and destroyed.

# THE ŚIVASŪTRAS.

अ इ उण् ॥ १ ॥ ऋ ऌक् ॥ २ ॥ ए ओङ् ॥ ३ ॥
ऐ औच् ॥ ४ ॥ ह य व रट् ॥ ५ ॥ ल ण् ॥ ६ ॥
ञ म ङ ण न म् ॥ ७ ॥ झ भञ् ॥ ८ ॥ घ ढ
ध ष् ॥ ९ ॥ ज ब ग ड द श् ॥ १० ॥ ख फ छ
ठ थ च ट त व् ॥ ११ ॥ क प य् ॥ १२ ॥ श ष
स र् ॥ १३ ॥ ह ल् ॥ १४ ॥

इति शिवसूत्राणि । आदिरन्त्येनेत्यनेनैकवाक्यत्वात्संज्ञासूत्राण्येतानि ॥ संज्ञाणादिः ॥

A I UṆ; ṚI ḶIK; E OṄ; AI AUC; HA YA VA RAṬ; LAṆ; ÑA MA ṄA ṆA NAM; JHA BHAÑ; GHA ḌHA DHAṢ; JA BA GA ḌA DAṢ; KHA PHA CHA ṬHA THA CA ṬA TAV; KA PAY; ŚA ṢA SAR; HAL.

These fourteen groups of letters are called शिवसूत्राणि or माहेश्वराणि सूत्राणि, from a popular belief among the Hindūs that they were revealed to Pāṇini by Śiva. The words "अधिगम्य माहेश्वरात्," in the first introductory couplet given above, contain an allusion to this circumstance. The following stanza, having reference to the manner in which they were revealed, is quoted by Tārānātha in his edition of the Siddhānta Kaumudī published in Calcutta in 1870 :—

नृत्यावसाने नटराजराजो ननाद ढक्कां नवपञ्चवारान् ।
उद्धर्तुकामः सनकादिसिद्धानेतद्विमर्शे शिवसूत्रजालम् ॥

Nāgojībhaṭṭa goes the length of seriously stating that these fourteen sūtras existed from eternity, and that Pāṇini was the author of only the sūtras in his eight lectures : तेषामनादित्वादेषां पाणिनिकृतत्वादिति भावः ॥

The order of the letters in the foregoing scheme differs from that adopted in the common alphabetical arrangement, which is as follows :—

अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ ऌ ॡ ए ऐ ओ औ अं अः । क ख ग घ ङ । च छ ज झ ञ । ट ठ ड ढ ण । त थ द ध न । प फ ब भ म । य र ल व । श ष स ह ॥

In both arrangements the vowels are placed first. In the Śivasūtras, however, the long vowels and the anusvāra and visarga are omitted, and the consonants are arranged in the following order, viz., the aspirate, the semivowels, the nasals, the aspirated soft consonants, the unaspirated soft consonants, the aspirated hard consonants, the unaspirated hard consonants, the sibilants, and the aspirate inserted a second time.

The letter अ inherent in the terms ह, &c., is to be left out of view, being merely retained for the articulation of the consonants ह्, &c. The Kāśikā makes an exception in the case of the अ of the sixth Śivasūtra, लण्, which will be noticed hereafter.*

The object of the scheme is to devise a plan by which several letters may be designated by a single syllable called a pratyāhāra, so that the necessity for naming them severally in a sūtra may be dispensed with. The 71st sūtra of the first chapter of the first book or lecture (I. 1, 71) teaches the mode of forming these syllables, namely, that any letter as an initial may combine with a final इत्. The term इत्, also called अनुबन्ध, is not defined

* See page 7.

in any sūtra of Pāṇini. From his work we only know what letters should be regarded as *its*. In the grammar of Candra we find the following sūtra defining the term: अनंशचिह्नमित् ॥ "An *it* is a letter added as a mark, without forming a part of that to which it is added." (See under I. 3, 2.) According to Pāṇini I. 3, 3 the last consonant in an upadeśa is an इत्:* The Siddhānta Kaumudī defines the term upadeśa as follows : उपदेश आद्योच्चारणम् ॥ "An upadeśa is an original enunciation," that is to say, any form of expression which is not an existing word in the language, but is invented and made use of in the language of grammarians. The Śivasūtras are therefore upadeśas, and their final consonants *its*. Any letter in the scheme may form a syllable with an इत् which appears *after* it; for instance, the letter अ, which stands at the head of the scheme, may form with the first *it*, ण्, the syllable अण्. The sūtra I. 1, 71, referred to above, does not specify the letters of which a syllable formed in this manner is the name. The corresponding sūtra in Candra's Grammar, namely, आदिरिता समध्यः, is a decided improvement on Pāṇini's sūtra. The defect in the latter has been remedied by Kātyāyana, as will be seen in the notes to I. 1, 71, and we are told that such a syllable is the name of the first letter and of the letters intervening between it and the *it*. The sūtra I. 3, 9, enjoins that *lopa* should be substituted for an *it*.† *Lopa*

* From this statement it must not be understood that the last consonant *alone* of an upadeśa is an *it*. There are several other *it* letters which will be noticed in their proper places (see I. 3, 2–8).

† According to the definition of *it* by Candra a separate sūtra providing for the elision of *its* is not necessary and is not given in his work. They are left out of view as they form no part of that to which they are added.

is defined by I. 1, 60, to be disappearance, and is equivalent to what, in the phraseology of European grammarians, is termed elision. In Pāṇini's system the operation is regarded as the substitution of a blank. The letter ण् is therefore elided, and the actual letters denoted by, or included in, अण् are अ इ and उ. In like manner the letters denoted by अक् are अ इ उ ऋ and ऌ, and by अच् all the vowels, and so on.

It will be seen that the letter ण् occurs twice in the scheme as an *it*, once in the first Śivasūtra, and again in the sixth. This gives rise to certain ambiguities; for the pratyāhāra अण् may, according as it is formed with the first or second ण्, denote either the letters अ इ and उ, or these three and the letters from ऋ to ऌ, both inclusive; and likewise the pratyāhāra इण् may denote either the two letters इ and उ or all the letters from इ to ऌ, also, both inclusive. The following paribhāṣā has reference to ambiguities like these:—

व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् ॥

"The precise meaning is ascertained from interpretation, for it does not follow that because there is a doubt there is no criterion to solve it."

Nāgojībhaṭṭa, in his paribhāṣenduśekhara, observes that the interpretation referred to in this paribhāṣā is that of the learned, meaning Patanjali and others. Patanjali's interpretation, founded on reasons detailed in the Mahābhāṣya, is given in the following words:—

अणुदित्सवर्णे परिहाय पूर्वेणाण्ग्रहणम्परेणेण्ग्रहणमिति व्याख्यास्यामः ॥

"We shall interpret that, except in the sūtra I. 1, 69, अण् is formed with the first ण् and इण् with the second."

The Kāśikā states that the अ inherent in the ल of the sixth Śivasūtra is a nasal vowel (which in an upadeśa is an *it* according to I. 3, 2), and that the pratyāhāra र is formed with the र् of the preceding sūtra as an initial, and this अ as a final *it*, to denote the two letters र् and ल्. The reasons for this view are as follows:—The sūtra I. 1, 51 requires that अण्, namely, अ इ and उ, substituted for ऋ should be followed by र्. The sūtra VI. 1, 87 teaches that a guṇa letter (I. 1, 2) should be substituted for अ and a dissimilar simple vowel following it. In कृष्ण + ऋद्धिः there is an occasion for the application of this rule. The proper guṇa substitute for अ and ऋ is अ (see notes to I. 1, 3), and this substitute should, according to I. 1, 51, be followed by र्॥ कृष्ण + ऋद्धिः will therefore become कृष्णर्द्धिः॥ Suppose next the case to be अ followed by ल, as in तव + लकारः॥ Here too the guṇa letter अ should take the place of अ + ल, but there is nothing in Pāṇini's Grammar to shew that ल् should follow this substituted अ, as it ought to do in accordance with usage. The object of the Kāśikā is to remedy this defect, for, if ऋ in I. 1, 51 be regarded as homogeneous with ल, and र as a pratyāhāra formed in the manner already explained, then ऋ would imply ल,* and र would include ल्, and the rule VI. 1, 87 would properly and adequately apply to the case proposed, giving the legitimate result तवल्कारः॥ This, however, is a very ingenious and extremely subtle view, and we may say that Pāṇini himself could never have intended any such pratyāhāra; for in the first place, the pratyāhāra रण्, formed in the same manner as all other pratyāhāras are formed, would denote र् and ल्, and if Pāṇini intended to use any pratyāhāra

* See pages 8 and 9.

at all to denote these two letters, he would have used रण् and not र; and, in the second place, Pāṇini had occasion to speak of the two letters र् and ल् in VII. 2, 2, but he does not use either pratyāhāra—he names the letters severally.

Although a great number of pratyāhāras may be formed in the way described above, yet forty-one only are made use of by Pāṇini in his work, and what these are we gather from the following Kārikā:—

एकस्मान्ङञणवटा द्वाभ्यां षस्त्रिभ्य एव कणमाः स्युः।
ञेयौ चयौ चतुर्भ्यो रः पञ्चभ्यः शलौ षड्भ्यः॥

"The five *its* ङ् ञ् ण् (of the first Śivasūtra) व् and ट् come after one letter; ष् after two letters; क् ण् (of the sixth Śivasūtra) and म after three; च् and य् after four; र् after five; and श् and ल् after six." The forty-one pratyāhāras referred to in the Kārikā are the following:—
एङ् ॥ यञ् ॥ अण् ॥ छव् ॥ अट् ॥ झष् । भष् ॥ अक् । इक् । उक् ॥ अण् । इण् । यण् ॥ अम् । यम् । ङम् ॥ अच् । इच् । एच् । ऐच् ॥ यय् । मय् । झय् । खय् ॥ यर् । झर् । खर् । चर् । शर् ॥ अश् । हश् । वश् । झश् । जश् । बश् ॥ अल् । हल् । वल् । रल् । झल् । शल् ॥

A forty-second pratyāhāra, चय् is met with in a vārttika to VIII. 4, 48.

It will be noticed that the long vowels are not given in the scheme, but the sūtra I. 1, 69 teaches that the letters included in the pratyāhāra अण् (formed with the ण् of the sixth Śivasūtra) shall be, except in certain cases, the representatives not only of themselves but also of the letters homogeneous with them. Homogeneity of letters is defined by I. 1, 9 to be their having the same organ and the same effort. As vowels have three quantities (I. 2, 27), namely, ह्रस्व, short,

containing one mātrā or prosodial instant, दीर्घ, long, containing two mātrās, and प्लुत, prolated, containing three mātrās; and as each of these three quantities may have three accents, namely, उदात्त (I. 2, 29), high or sharp tone, अनुदात्त (I. 2, 30), low tone, and स्वरित (I. 2, 31), a combination of the high and low tones, we get nine varieties of a vowel; and as each of these may also be nasal, the total number of variations of a short vowel is eighteen. The vowel ऌ has no long form, and the vowels ए, ऐ, ओ and औ have no short forms, and hence the number of variations of each of these five vowels is twelve. All the eighteen variations of इ are homogeneous with one another, because they have the same organ, namely, the palate, and the same effort, namely, विवृत open, and therefore the vowel इ given in the scheme would represent them all. The same may be said of the vowel उ, and, in fact, of all the other vowels except अ. All the eighteen varieties of अ are guttural, but this alone would not make them homogeneous, as homogeneity of letters does not depend solely on the condition of their having the same organ, but also on the additional condition of their having the same effort. The effort of short अ is संवृत, contracted, while that of long and prolated आ is विवृत, open. Patanjali, the author of the Mahābāṣya, says नैव लोके न च वेदे विवृतो ऽकारो ऽस्ति । कस्तर्हि । संवृतः ॥ "Neither in the secular language nor in the Vedic is the letter अ open. What is it then? Contracted." And again he says: नैव लोके न च वेदे दीर्घप्लुतौ संवृतौ स्तः । कौ तर्हि । विवृतौ ॥ "Neither in the secular language nor in the Vedic are long and pluta vowels contracted. What are they then? Open." From this it is clear that short अ is not homogeneous with the long and prolated आ, and hence the former, which

alone is given in the scheme, would not represent the latter. In order to meet this difficulty, and to make short अ represent the long and prolated आ, Pāṇini had recourse to what may be called a grammatical fiction, which Kātyāyana, the author of the vārttikas, expresses as follows:—

अकारस्य विवृतोपदेश आकारग्रहणार्थः ॥

"The letter अ is enunciated as open in order that it may represent the letter आ." The difficulty is thus got over, and अ is made the representative of its eighteen varieties. It was found necessary to regard अ as open throughout the whole of the work, in order that the rules depending on the homogeneity supposed to exist between अ and आ, such as VI. 1, 101, might not be invalidated. But, at the close of the work, Pāṇini, in order to restore अ to its natural rights, gives the aphorism "अ अ" which is the last in his work, and is interpreted to mean, "Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise."

Although ऋ and ऌ are heterogeneous, the former being cerebral and the latter dental, yet, for reasons which will be found explained under I. 1, 9, Kātyāyana directs that they should be regarded as homogeneous. (See vārttika 5 to I. 1, 9.) Each of these vowels therefore represents thirty modifications, that is to say, the eighteen of the first and the twelve of the second.

According to the definition of the homogeneity of letters ए would be homogeneous with ऐ, and ओ with औ, inasmuch as each of the former two is guttural and

palatal and each of the latter two guttural and labial, and the effort of all four open: but the commentators of Pāṇini assert that they are *not* homogeneous— an inference drawn by them from the fact that Pāṇini has given ऐ and औ in the scheme in a separate sūtra which he would not have done had he regarded each pair as homogeneous, seeing that a vowel implies also its homogeneous variations. Hence these four vowels should not separately be taken as representing twenty-four modifications. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, the author of the Siddhānta Kaumudī, states this in the following words:

एदैतोरोदौतोश्च न मिथः सावर्ण्यम् ॥ ऐ औजिति सूत्रारम्भसामर्थ्यात् । तेनैचश्चतुर्विंशतेः संज्ञाः स्युरिति नापादनीयम् ॥

If a vowel given in the scheme represents its homogeneous modifications, the question arises—how could the former alone be spoken of to the exclusion of the latter? The answer to this is furnished by I. 1, 70, according to which a vowel with the anubandha त् placed before or after it, would imply only itself and the homogeneous variations of its own prosodial time. Thus अत्, which occurs in I. 1, 2, does not represent the long and the prolated आ; nor does इत्, which occurs in I. 2, 17, represent the long and the prolated ई.

As the letters ह् य् व् र् and ल् are included in अण् they would represent also the letters homogeneous with them as taught by the sūtra I. 1, 69 already referred to. Patanjali says that there are no letters homogeneous with ह् and र्. The letters homogeneous with the remaining three letters य् व् and ल् are their nasals, which are written thus यँ् वँ् लँ्. The sūtra VIII. 4, 59 teaches that when anusvāra, at the end of a pada, is followed

by a letter included in the pratyāhāra यय्, a letter homogeneous with the latter should optionally be substituted for the former. In सं + यन्ता, सं + वत्सरः and यं + लोकम् there are occasions for the application of this rule, and the nasals of the three letters य् व् and ल् are substituted respectively for the anusvāras preceding them, as in सय्ँयन्ता । सव्ँवत्सरः । यल्ँलोकम् । and these nasals may be doubled by VIII. 4, 46 as in सय्ँय्यन्ता । सव्ँव्वत्सरः । यल्ँल्लोकम् ॥

The sūtra I. 1, 69 also teaches that a letter having the *it* उ shall represent the letters homogeneous with it. Thus कु represents the guttural class, क् ख् ग् घ् ङ्, called कवर्ग; चु the palatal class, च् छ् ज् झ् ञ्, called चवर्ग; टु the cerebral class ट् ठ् ड् ढ् ण्, called टवर्ग; तु the dental class, त् थ् द् ध् न् called तवर्ग; and पु the labial class, प् फ् ब् भ् म्, called पवर्ग. Pāṇini never makes use of the terms कवर्ग, &c., though it would appear from IV. 3, 63 that he knew of their existence.

We miss in the scheme the visarjanīya, jihvāmūlīya, upadhmānīya, anusvāra and yama (see under I. 1, 9). These are called अयोगवाहाः and the following vārttika shews that they should be included in the pratyāhāra अट् ॥

अयोगवाहानामट्टु णत्वम् ॥

"The ayogavāhas should be enunciated in अट् for the purpose of the cerebral ण्" ॥ Thus in the examples उरःकेण, उरऱ्केण and उरऱ्पेण, the cerebral ण् has been substituted for the dental न् by VIII. 4, 2, as अट् includes the ayogavāhas by this vārttika.

The vowel ऋ is not of frequent occurrence, being met with only in the root कॄ, which however is written

कृप् in VIII. 2, 18. This sūtra requires that ऌ् should be substituted for the र् obtained by I. 1, 51, when अण् is substituted for the vowel of the root. The vowel ऌ should also be substituted for ऋ as will be explained hereafter.* These substitutions are asiddha, that is, they are to be considered as if they have not taken place, in regard to the sūtras preceding VIII. 2, 18 (see VIII. 2, 1), and hence the question arises—what the necessity was for inserting ऌ in the scheme. The following vārttika answers this inquiry :

ऌकारोपदेशो यदृच्छाशक्तिजानुकरणप्लुत्याद्यर्थः ॥

"The vowel ऌ is given in the scheme for the sake of yadṛicchā words, the imitation of words incorrectly pronounced, and the prolation, &c. of this vowel."

Yadṛicchā words are those not derived from authority or not having any meaning, as ऌतक, a name of a man. Now when this word, which begins with ऌ, follows a word ending in a vowel, the sandhi changes would not take place if ऌ had not been inserted in the scheme, as it would not then be included in the pratyāhāra अच् ॥ Thus in मधु ऌतकाय देहि, the उ of मधु would become व् by VI. 1, 77, and would give मध्वृतकाय *only* if ऌ had been included in अच्, because the rule VI. 1, 77 does not teach that उ should be changed to व् when a *vowel* follows, but when *ac* follows. Again, if the word ऋतक be incorrectly pronounced ऌतक by, for instance, a Brāhman woman, one narrating this fact would say ब्राह्मणी ऌतक इत्याह. The ई of ब्राह्मणी would become य् and give, ब्राह्मण्यृतक by VI. 1 77, *only* if ऌ be included in अच्. By the expression "prolation," &c. is meant rules relating to the pluta quantity of vowels, the doubling of a

* See page 16.

letter, and the svarita accent. Thus, if ऌ be not given in the scheme, it would not be an अच्, and therefore in क्लृप्तशिख the first syllable would not become pluta by VIII. 2, 86; in क्लृप्तः the प् would not be doubled by VIII. 4, 47; and in प्रक्लृप्तः the second syllable would not become svarita by VIII. 4, 66 (see also VI. 2, 49 and VI. 1, 158); although in regard to these three sūtras the vowel ऌ is not asiddha.

The letters ए ऐ ओ and औ were called by the former grammarians सन्ध्यक्षराणि, sandhi or joint letters, as they are each composed of two elements, ए and ऐ of अ and इ, and ओ and औ of अ and उ. In ए and ओ the elements अ + इ and अ + उ are combined in such a way that they are not separately perceivable, just as two elements which form a chemical compound are not seen separately; whereas in ऐ and औ which are compounded of the same letters, viz. ऐ of अ + इ, and औ of अ + उ these elements are separately perceivable and heard when these diphthongs are pronounced. Hence the diphthongs ए and ओ are called श्लिष्टावर्णौ, and ऐ and औ समाहारवर्णौ.* When, therefore, as it sometimes becomes neces-

* Dr. Goldstücker is of opinion that ऐ = अ and ए, and औ = अ and ओ. (See his Pāṇini, page 41.) His authority for this view would appear to be the sūtra VI. I, 88 by which ऐ is required to be substituted for अ + ए, and औ for अ + ओ || That, however, is a sandhi rule, and it does not follow that a letter taught by such a rule as a substitute for two letters is composed of these two letters; or that two letters taught as a substitute for one letter are component parts or elements of that letter. The same rule VI. 1, 88 requires ऐ to be substituted for अ + ऐ, and औ for अ + औ, and it might with equal reason be said that ऐ is compounded of अ + ऐ, and औ of अ + औ Again अय् is substituted for ऐ, and आय् for औ by VI 1, 78 when a vowel follows, but

sary in the formation of words, it is enjoined that a short vowel should be substituted for any one of these four letters, the question arises whether we should substitute for ए and ओ halves of these letters;* for ऐ the letter अ or the letter इ, and for औ the letter अ or the letter उ. To clear this point Pāṇini gives the rule I. 1, 48, according to which a letter included in इक् is to be substituted for one included in एच् whenever a short vowel is to be substituted for it.

In reference to these diphthongs the question also arises—whether they do or do not represent the simple elements of which they are composed. We find the following vārttika on this subject.—

वर्णैकदेशा वर्णग्रहणेन चेत्सन्ध्यक्षरे समानाक्षरविधिप्रतिषेधः॥

"If by the mention of a letter its members are also included, then a prohibition should be made against a diphthong representing the members of which it is composed." Thus the rule VI. 1, 101 should not

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this does not warrant the conclusion that ऐ=आ + य्, or औ= आ + व्. Professor Benfey states that ऐ is compounded of आ + इ, and औ of आ+उ ॥ His reasoning was, perhaps, as follows:—

ऐ = अ + ए VI. 1, 88
but ए = अ + इ VI. 1, 87
∴ ऐ = अ + अ + इ
but अ + अ = आ VI. 1, 101
∴ ऐ = आ + इ
In the same manner औ = आ + उ ॥

* The vowels ए and ओ are never pronounced short in Sanskṛit. In Pāli they are sometimes pronounced short before Saṇyogas, but there are no separate characters for the short sounds. In Sinhalese and Tamil they are pronounced both short and long, and there are separate characters to represent the short as distinguished from the long.

apply to अग्ने+इन्द्रम् or वायो+उदकम् and ई should not be substituted for ए+इ nor ऊ for ओ+उ. But if a letter is prohibited from representing a member of it, then an exception must be made in the case of the letter र् in certain instances referred to in the following vārttika:

अग्रहणं चेन्नुड्द्विधिलादेशविनामेष्वृकारग्रहणम् ॥

"If a letter should not represent its members, then र् should nevertheless be made to represent ऋ in rules enjoining the addition of the augment नुट्, the substitution of ल् and of a cerebral letter." We shall illustrate this by the following examples:—

The sūtra VII. 4, 71 teaches that नुट् shall be the augment of a root containing two consonants when it follows the आ mentioned in VII. 4, 70, thus आ + अर्द = आनर्द. For the purposes of this rule ऋ shall be considered a consonant, it being a member of र्, and therefore the augment नुट् is added to the root ऋध् and we get आनृधतुः ॥

The rule VIII. 2, 18, as already stated, enjoins the substitution of ल् for the र् obtained from the root कृप् by I. 1, 51, as कल्पते ॥ For a similar reason the vowel ऌ should be substituted for the vowel ऋ as in क्लृप्तः ॥

According to VIII. 4, 1 the cerebral ण् should be substituted for the dental न् when the latter follows र् or ष् in the same pada as in आस्तीर्णम्. Here र् represents ऋ and the change should take place when न् follows ऋ as in मातॄणाम्.

It will be seen that the consonant ह् occurs twice in the scheme, once between the vowels and semivowels and again at the end of the consonants. It is given in its first place in order that it may be included in the

pratyāhāras अट्, अश्, हश्, and इण्; and in its second place in order that it may be included in the pratyāhāras वल्, रल्, झल्, and शल्. Thus महान् हि becomes महाँ हि by VIII. 3, 3 and 9; अर्हन् becomes अर्हँण by VIII. 4, 2; देवाः हसन्ति becomes देवा हसन्ति by VIII. 3, 17; देवः हसति becomes देवो हसति by VI. 1, 114, लिलिहिध्वे becomes लिलिहिढ्वे by VIII. 3, 79; in रुदिहि and स्वपिहि, हि has taken the augment इट् by VII. 2, 76; the forms स्निहित्वा and स्नेहित्वा are obtained by I. 2, 26; in अदाग्धाम् lopa has been substituted for स् by VIII. 2, 26; in अलिक्षत् the affix क्स has been substituted for च्लि, after लिह् by III. 1, 45. These forms could not be obtained from these rules if ह् had not been placed twice in the scheme in the positions it has been made to occupy.

Some objections may be stated to the position of र् in the scheme, which, as it stands, is included in the pratyāhāras यर् and यय्. As र् is included in यर्, a nasal may, by VIII. 4, 45, be substituted optionally for it when it is at the end of a pada, and is followed by a nasal, as in the case of मातर् + नयति, and when र् follows ह् preceded by a vowel, it may be optionally doubled by VIII. 4, 46, as in the case of भद्रह्रदः. Again, as र् is included in यय्, a letter homogeneous with it may, by VIII. 4, 59, be optionally substituted for anusvāra final in a pada which precedes it, as in the case of कुण्डं रथेन. Patanjali disposes of the first and third objections by stating that there are no letters homogeneous with र्, and the second objection by stating that ह् and र् being the causes of the doubling of a यर् cannot themselves be operated upon. The Kāśikā, however, is more full in meeting the first and third objections. That commentary states that, when, for instance, ङ् is substituted for क्, the substitute (आदेश) and that in the room of

which it is substituted (आदेशिन्) have the same organ, स्थान, and the same quality, गुण. If the आदेशिन् has nothing in common with the proposed आदेश either as regards स्थान or as regards गुण, or if it has something in common with it only as regards स्थान or only as regards गुण, then such substitutes are not to be taken. The cerebral nasal ण् should not therefore be substituted for र् because, although they are both cerebral, there is nothing common to them as regards गुण ॥

# ॥ प्रथमो ऽध्यायः ॥

# BOOK I.

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## ॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

## CHAPTER I.

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### वृद्धिरादैच् ॥ १ ॥

आ ऐ औ एते वृद्धिसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥ आङ्गः । ऐच्छिकः । औपगवः ॥

Let the letters Ā, AI, and AU be called VRIDDHI; as in *ā*ngaḥ, *ai*cchikaḥ, *au*pagavaḥ.

In this sūtra there are, according to some authorities, two padas, namely, वृद्धिः and आदैच्; according to others three, वृद्धिः, आत् and ऐच् ॥ The त् of आत् has been changed to द् by VIII. 2, 39.

The term आत् consists of the long vowel आ and the "*it*" or "*anubandha*" त् attached to it. ऐच् is a pratyāhāra denoting the two letters ऐ and औ ॥ It should have been written ऐक् according to the sūtra VIII. 2, 30, which requires that a letter of the guttural class should be substituted for one of the palatal class at the end of a pada (I. 4, 14). Patanjali accounts for this anomaly by stating that ऐच् is virtually included in the

gaṇa अयस्मयादि, mentioned in I. 4, 20, and that it is therefore a *bha* (I. 4, 18). As, however, the sūtra I. 4, 20 refers to the Veda, Patanjali, in order to show that it is nevertheless applicable here, maintains that "sūtras are like the Veda"—छन्दोवत्सूत्राणि भवन्ति ॥ But if ऐच् be regarded as a *bha* and not as a *pada*, then, there should also be no change of its final च् to the corresponding soft letter ज्, as required by VIII. 2, 39; when, for instance, the sūtra I. 1, 2 is read immediately after the present sūtra in *ekayoga*. In order to meet this difficulty, Patanjali holds that ऐच् should then be regarded as a *pada* and not as a *bha*; and, to show that there is no inconsistency here, he quotes the following passage from the Veda, where one and the same term is considered both as a *pada* and as a *bha* in one and the same place:—स मुष्टुभा स ऋकता गणेन ॥ Here the final of ऋच् has been changed to क् because this term is a *pada*, but the further change of क् to ग् has not taken place because ऋच् is a *bha*. In like manner, but in the reverse order, the final of ऐच् is not changed to क् because ऐच् is a *bha*, but the change to ज् does take place because it is a *pada*.

The letter त् inserted after आ might have been used, first, for the removal of the ambiguity to be presently mentioned; or secondly, in accordance with I. 1, 70; or thirdly, for the prevention of the hiatus caused by the concurrence of आ and ऐच् ॥

As the combination आ + ऐच् would give ऐच् by VI. 1, 88, the sūtra before us could have been written वृद्धिरैच् ॥ But if it were so written, a doubt would arise whether its last term may be the pratyāhāra ऐच् only, or the result of the combination mentioned above; or, in other

words, whether the letters ऐ and औ only or these and the letter आ may be called vṛiddhi. One might therefore suppose that the letter त् is inserted after आ for the purpose of removing this doubt or ambiguity. This supposition, however, is incorrect, for, in the first place, if the sūtra were written वृद्धिरैच्, the paribhāṣā

व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् ॥

quoted under the Śivasūtras would have applied to it, and the learned would have interpreted the term ऐच् to be the result of आ + ऐच्; and, in the second place, we actually find an example in VI. 1, 93 of आ + ओतः being written औतः and not आदोतः notwithstanding the many ambiguities that would arise from it, namely, whether औत् may mean, first, the simple letter औ; or secondly, अ + ओ; or thirdly, आ + ओ; or fourthly, अ + औ; or fifthly, आ + औ ॥

In the second place, if the त् is used in accordance with I. 1, 70, it may be taken either with आ which precedes it, or with ऐच् which follows it, or with both; for the term तपरः in I. 1, 70 may be regarded not only as a bahuvrīhi compound, meaning "that which is followed by त्"; but also as a tatpuruṣa compound meaning "that which follows त्." In connection with this question Kātyāyana gives the following vārttika:

आकारस्य तपरकरणं सवर्णार्थम् ॥

"The object of the insertion of त् after आ is to make आ represent the letters homogeneous with it," that is to say, the six letters udātta आ, anudātta आ, svarita आ, and their nasals. No object could, however, be gained by such a step, as the paribhāṣā

अभेदका गुणाः ॥

teaches that "when the same letter has different qualities, these qualities do not render them different letters." The mere mention of any one of these, without a special effort, would include the others. If it were necessary to speak of any one of them in particular as distinct from the others, a separate qualifying word would be used, such, for instance, as the word udātta in VII. 1, 75. Hence the ञ् would serve no purpose here as an anubandha to आ. Then comes the question—whether any purpose is served by it as an anubandha to ऐच् ॥ The letters ऐ and औ being included in the pratyāhāra अण् would, according to I. 1, 69, also imply or denote their prolated or pluta forms containing three mātrās; and, when, by VI. 1, 88, the diphthong ऐ is substituted for both the final of खट्वा and the initial of एलका, when the former is followed by the latter; then, according to the paribhāṣā sūtra I. 1, 50, the pluta ऐ should be the proper substitute because this letter, as it contains three mātrās, has a greater proximity to आ + ए, consisting of four mātrās, than the long ऐ which has only two mātrās (see under I. 1, 3). But if the letter ञ् is attached to ऐच्, then the pluta forms would be excluded by I. 1, 70, and therefore would not be termed vriddhi by the rule now under consideration, and hence the substitute of आ + ए would be the long and not the prolated ऐ. Similarly, when खट्वा+ओदनः makes खट्वौदनः the औ is not prolated but only long. It might perhaps be asked whether the ञ् should not be taken to apply to आ also, for the purpose of preventing its representing the short अ and the prolated आ; but it must be remembered that आ, not being included in the pratyāhāra अण्, does not in point of fact represent these letters, and that it is therefore not necessary to adopt

any means to prevent their implying them. From these observations it is clear that त् is to be taken and read with ऐच्, and not with आ ॥

Now, as regards the third point, it is plain that since the त् has been used, as shown above, for a special purpose, its object is not the prevention of the hiatus referred to. In III. 3, 57 we find त् used for the latter purpose, and there it serves *only* to facilitate pronunciation.

This sūtra is not to be regarded so much as defining the technical term vṛiddhi, of which the literal meaning is increase or prosperity, as giving that name to the three letters आ, ऐ and औ. In such sūtras the name given is termed संज्ञा and that to which it is given संज्ञिन् ॥ Thus in this sūtra वृद्धि is the संज्ञा, and आदैच् the संज्ञिन् ॥ In a saṇjñā rule the संज्ञिन् is generally mentioned before the संज्ञा, as in I. 1, 2, but in this sūtra the reverse order is adopted, which Patanjali explains by saying that वृद्धि is mentioned first "मङ्गलार्थम्," "for the sake of auspices."

The next question to be considered is—whether the collection of the three letters आ, ऐ and औ, or each of them separately is termed vṛiddhi. The two following paribhāṣās bear on this question :—

प्रत्येकं वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः ॥

"What is stated (in grammar, of several things,) must be understood (to have been stated thereby) of each of them separately"; and

क्वचित्समुदाये ऽपि ॥

"Sometimes of all them collectively."

In the case we are considering the first paribhāṣā applies, and hence each of the three letters आ, ऐ and औ is termed vṛiddhi. Under I. 1, 7 will be found an instance of the application of the second paribhāṣā.

Another question for consideration is—whether these three letters are termed vṛiddhi when occurring originally in a word or form, or only when they have been substituted for other letters in accordance with any rules of Pāṇini. It is clear that in the latter cases they are so termed from the very fact of vṛiddhi being enjoined by these rules. But are original letters also called vṛiddhi? The sūtra I. 1, 73 gives the name vṛiddham to any word or form of which the first vowel occurring in it is a vṛiddhi letter. If what is referred to here be not an original letter, then the prātipadika (I. 2, 45) शाला would not be a vṛiddham, and therefore the affix छ could not be added to it in accordance with IV. 2, 114. But the word शालीय is formed in no other way than by the addition of this affix to शाला (VII. I, 2; VI. 4, 148). It follows, therefore, that both original and substituted letters are called vṛiddhi.

In the examples given in the vṛitti, the letters आ ऐ and औ have been substituted for अ इ and उ respectively by VII. 2, 117.

## अदेङ्गुणः ॥ २ ॥

अ ए ओ एते गुणसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥ अर्ति । एति । ओखति ॥

Let the letters A, E, and O be called GUṆA; as in *arti*, *eti*, *okhati*.

This sūtra consists of the three padas अत्, एङ् and गुणः ॥ The त is changed to द by VIII. 2, 39, as in the

preceding sūtra. The term अत् consists of short अ and the *it* or *anubandha* त् joined to it. एङ् is a pratyāhāra including the letters ए and ओ ॥ The त् is to be taken with both अ, which precedes it, and एङ्, which follows it, that is to say with all the three letters अ, ए and ओ ॥ The long and the prolated आ, and the prolated ए and ओ which would otherwise be represented by अ, ए and ओ respectively, as they are included in the pratyāhāra अण्, are thus excluded, and the sūtra only contemplates short अ and long ए and ओ. In खट्वेन्द्रः formed of खट्वा and इन्द्रः, by VI. 1, 87, the ए, therefore, contains two mātrās; and the ओ in खट्वोदकम्, formed of खट्वा and उदकम् by the same rule, also contains only two mātrās.

For reasons already stated under I. 1, 1 it is not the collection of the three letters अ, ए and ओ that is called guṇa, but the term is applied to each of them separately, not only when it is a substituted letter but also when it is an original letter.

Of the examples given in the vṛitti the first, अर्ति, is not a real word in the language, but one made use of by Pāṇini in his sūtras to signify the root ऋ "to go," from which it is formed by the mere addition to it of the affix तिप् (III. 4, 78). This and the other words in the vṛitti are examples of the substitution of guṇa by VII. 3, 84 and 86.

## इको गुणवृद्धी ॥ ३ ॥

स्वशब्देन यत्र गुणवृद्धी विधीयेते तत्र इक इति षष्ठ्यन्तं पदमुपतिष्ठते ॥ तरति । मार्ष्टि ॥

Wherever (the substitution of) GUṆA AND VṚIDDHI is directed by means of these very words,

there the term IKAḤ, ending in an affix of the sixth case, is supplied or understood; as *tarati*, he crosses; *mārṣṭi*, he cleanses.

This aphorism consists of two padas इकः and गुणवृद्धी ॥ The former is the genitive singular of इक्, a pratyāhāra denoting the four letters इ, उ, ऋ and ऌ, and the latter a dvandva compound consisting of the members गुणः and वृद्धिः ॥ It is a paribhāṣā for interpreting or limiting rules directing the substitution of guṇa and vṛiddhi; and before we can understand it, it is necessary to ascertain what the guṇa and what the vṛiddhi of each letter of the alphabet would be. Pāṇini does not tell us directly what particular guṇa and what particular vṛiddhi letter is the actual substitute for any given letter, but he gives the paribhāṣā sūtra I. 1, 50, from which we are enabled to ascertain this for ourselves. That sūtra teaches that when a common term including several significates is given as a substitute, that one of the significates which bears the greatest resemblance or has the greatest proximity to that in the room of which it is to come, is its proper substitute. Resemblance or proximity is determined by स्थान, organs of speech, or अर्थ, meaning, or गुण, quality, or प्रमाण, quantity or prosodial time. When ascertaining the proper guṇa substitute of इ we find that, as regards स्थान, the guṇa letter ए has a greater proximity to it than either अ or ओ, both इ and ए being palatal; while, as regards प्रमाण, the proximity to it of अ is greater than that of either ए or ओ, both अ and इ being short while ए and ओ are long. Here a doubt arises whether we are to substitute for इ the guṇa letter ए or the guṇa letter अ The special insertion of the word स्थानि in the paribhāṣā sūtra I. 1,

50, notwithstanding its being valid there from the preceding sūtra I. 1, 49, shews that resemblance or proximity in relation to स्थान should have preference to that in relation to प्रमाण ॥ This doctrine is expounded in the following paribhāṣā :—

यत्रानेकविधमान्तर्य्यं तत्र स्थानत आन्तर्य्यं बलीयः ॥

"Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity, there that proximity which has reference to the organs of speech is weightier than the others." The proper guṇa substitute of इ is therefore ए ॥ Similarly the guṇa of उ is ओ ॥ The letters ऋ and ऌ have no correspondence with any of the guṇa or vṛiddhi letters as regards the organs of speech, and their substitutes must therefore be determined by quantity. The letter अ is therefore their guṇa substitute, as अ, ऋ and ऌ are short while ए and ओ are long, and this letter, when a substitute for ऋ or ऌ, should be followed invariably by the letters र् and ल् respectively (I. 1, 51), and the combinations thus obtained, namely अर् and अल्, are regarded as the guṇa substitutes of ऋ and ऌ respectively. In like manner it is clear that अ is the guṇa of आ, ए of ऐ, and ओ of औ ॥ The guṇa of a palatal consonant would be ए and of a labial consonant ओ. As regards any other consonant, quantity should determine its guṇa substitute. As a consonant has only half a mātrā, the letter अ which has one mātrā would be its guṇa substitute, it being nearer to it than either ए or ओ, each of which has two mātrās.

From these observations it will appear that आ is the vṛiddhi substitute of अ and of any consonant except a palatal and labial, ऐ of इ, ए and a palatal consonant; औ

of उ, ओ and a labial consonant; आर् of ऋ; and आल् of ऌ (आर् and आल् being the long forms of the guṇa substitutes of ऋ and ऌ).

The meaning of this sūtra is that whenever any rule of Pāṇini enjoins the substitution of guṇa or vṛiddhi by the use in such rule of these very saṅjñās, and not by the use of the letters themselves which are signified by them, the term इकः is to be supplied in it, and this term being in the genitive case would, according to I. 1, 49, indicate that the substitute is to take the place of a letter denoted by the pratyāhāra *ik*. For example, the sūtra VII. 3, 84 requires that guṇa should be substituted for a base when a sārvadhātuka (III. 4, 113) or an ārdhadhātuka (III. 4, 114) affix follows; and VII. 2, 1 enjoins the substitution of vṛiddhi for a base when the affix सिच् (III. 1, 44) followed by the parasmaipada affixes (I. 4, 99) follows. According to I. 1, 52 the substitute takes the place of the last letter only, but in these sūtras the term इकः is supplied or understood, and guṇa and vṛiddhi are substituted for the last letter, only when it is one included in the pratyāhāra *ik* and not otherwise. Thus when the sārvadhātuka affix शप् (III. 1, 68) follows the root तॄ "to cross" the final ऋ is changed to its guṇa अर् by VII. 3, 84, as तरति "he crosses;" and when the ārdhadhātuka affix सिच् followed by the parasmaipada affixes follows the root चि "to collect" the final इ is changed to its vṛiddhi ऐ by VII. 2, 1 as अचैषीत् ॥

From the fact that इकः is specially mentioned in the sūtra it follows that the substitution of guṇa for the other letters, namely, for the vowel आ as well as the diphthongs and consonants, does not take place as in

याता where या is followed by the ārdhadhātuka affix ताम् (III. 1, 33), ग्लायति where ग्लै is followed by the sārvadhātuka affix शप्, and उम्भिता where उम्भ् is followed by तास् ॥ This restriction is pointed out by the following vārttika of Kātyāyana :—

इग्ग्रहणमात्सन्ध्यक्षरव्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थम् ॥

If the rule "that the last letter alone should be subjected to the guṇa change whenever that letter is an इक्", is to be invariably followed, then difficulties would arise in the following instances :—

(*a*) The sūtra VII. 3, 82 requires that guṇa should be substituted for भिद् when an affix having श् as an इत् follows, as भेद्यति ।

(*b*) The sūtra VII. 2, 114 teaches that vṛiddhi should be substituted for मृज् as मार्ष्टि ।

The substitution of guṇa is also taught—

(*c*) by VII. 3, 86 (according to one possible explanation of it) for a base ending in पुक् (VII. 3, 36), and for one having a short penultimate vowel, when a sārvadhātuka or an ārdhadhātuka affix follows, as क्षेपयति । भेत्ता ।

(*d*) by VII. 4, 11 for ऋच्छ् when लिट् (III. 2, 115) follows as आनर्च्छ ।

(*e*) by VII. 4, 16 for दृश् when अङ् (III. 1, 52) follows as अदर्शत् ।

(*f*) by VI. 4, 156 for the first part of क्षिप्र and क्षुद्र left after eliding the last syllable र when इष्ठन् (V. 3, 55) follows as क्षेपिष्ठ । क्षोदिष्ठ ॥

With regard to these bases it might be said that, as it is the final *ik* of a base that should undergo the guṇa change, and as these bases end in a consonant, there

should be no guṇa change in them at all, and that therefore the sūtras referred to would be devoid of any meaning. Now, if this objection be answered by the statement that *ik* undergoes the guṇa change whether it is final or not, then other difficulties would arise in the following instances.

The substitution of guṇa is taught—

(*a*) by VII. 3, 83 for a base when जुस् (III. 4, 108) follows as अजुहवुः ।

(*b*) by VII. 3, 84 for a base when a sārvadhātuka or an ārdhadhātuka affix follows, as भवति । हर्ता ।

(*c*) by VII. 3, 108 for a base having a short vowel when sambuddhi (II. 3, 49) follows, as अग्ने ।

(*d*) by VII. 3, 109 for a base having a short vowel when जस् (IV. 1, 2) follows, as अग्नयः ।

(*e*) by VII. 3, 110 for a base having the vowel ऋ when ङि (IV. 1, 2) follows as कर्तरि ।

(*f*) By VII. 3, 111 for a घि (I. 4, 7) when a case affix having ङ् as an इत् follows as अग्नये ।

(*g*) by VI. 4, 146 for a base having the vowel उ when it is a *bha* (I. 4, 18) and is followed by a taddhita affix (IV. 1, 76) as बाभ्रव्य ॥

In all these examples we have seen that guṇa has been substituted for a final *ik*, but if such a principle as the one just laid down were to be accepted, then guṇa should be substituted

(*a*) for the vowel of निज् when जुस् follows, giving the incorrect form अनेनेजुः instead of the correct form अनेनिजुः ।

(*b*) for the vowel of ईह् when ते follows giving the incorrect form एहते instead of ईहते ।

(*c*) for the penultimate vowel of अभिषिच् when sambuddhi follows, giving अभिषेच instead of अभिषिच ।

(*d*) for the penultimate vowel of अग्निचित् when जस् follows giving अग्निचेतः instead of अग्निचितः ।

(*e*) for the penultimate vowel of सुकृत् when ङि follows giving सुकर्ति instead of सुकृति ।

(*f*) for the penultimate vowel of अग्निचित् । when ङे (IV. 1, 2) follows giving अग्निचेते instead of अग्निचिते, and

(*g*) for the penultimate उ of सुश्रुत् giving सौश्रोत instead of सौश्रुत ॥

These difficulties are removed by the following explanation.

In all these sūtras the word अङ्गस्य is valid from VI. 4, 1, and when the term इकः is supplied in them a second genitive becomes manifest, and then there are two alternatives, viz., the guṇa may be of the *ik* of the bases, or it may be of *bases* ending in *ik*.

In the first case we qualify the *ik* by the *base*; but in the second the *base* by the *ik*. In the case of भिद्, भृज्, पुगन्त, लघूपध, ऋच्छ, दृश्, क्षिप and क्षुद्र the first alternative applies, but in the case of जुस्, सार्वधातुक, आर्धधातुक, ह्स्व &c. the second. This is expressed in the Mahābhāṣya as follows:—भिदिभृजिपुगन्तलघूपधर्च्छदृशिक्षिपक्षुद्रेषु गृह्यमाणेनेकं विशेषयिष्यामः ॥ जुसिसार्वधातुकार्धधातुकह्स्वादोर्गुणेष्विका गृह्यमाणं विशेषयिष्यामः ॥

Or else it can be shewn that the sūtras VII. 3, 82; VII. 2, 114; VII. 3, 86; VII. 4, 11; VII. 4, 16; and VI. 4, 156 refer not to the bases but to the vowels denoted by इक् occurring in them. Thus the sūtra भिदेर्गुणः (VII. 3, 82) may be translated, "Let there be guṇa of the इ of भिद्" ॥ The term भिदेः is then considered as the genitive of भिदि a tatpuruṣa compound of which the separate terms are "भिदः" "of भिद्" and "इः"

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"the vowel इ" ॥ The term पुगन्तलघूपधस्य in VII. 3, 86 is not explained as पुगन्तस्याङ्गस्य लघूपधस्य च "of a base ending in पुक् and of one having a short penultimate vowel," but thus पुक्यन्तः पुगन्तः । लघ्वुपधा लघूपधा । पुगन्तश्च लघूपधा च पुगन्तलघूपधम् । पुगन्तलघूपधस्य । "of a final (*ik*) followed by the augment पुक् and of a penultimate short vowel."

For the manner in which the other terms are explained see under the sūtras in which they occur.

If it is only the letters denoted by the pratyāhāra इक् that should undergo the guṇa and vṛiddhi changes, difficulties would also arise in the following instances.

We are to substitute—

(*a*) the letter अ for इदम्, when a case affix follows, by VII. 2, 102;

(*b*) the letter आ for पथिन्, when सु (IV. 1, 2) follows, by VII. 1, 85; and

(*c*) the letter औ for दिव्, also when सु follows, by VII. 1, 84.

The substitutes, as already stated, should take the place of the last letters, namely म्, न् and व् ॥ As अ is a guṇa letter and आ and औ are vṛiddhi letters, it may be contended that according to the present sūtra the term इकः should be supplied or understood in the sūtras VII. 2, 102, VII. 1, 85, and VII. 1, 84, that when this is done the substitutes should not take the place of म्, न् and व् respectively, but of the vowel इ occurring in the bases, just as guṇa is substituted for the इ and not the द of मिद् and vṛiddhi is substituted for the ऋ and not the ज् of मृज् ॥ To meet this objection Kātyāyana interpo[illegible] the following vārtika:—

संज्ञया विधानं नियमः ॥

"The restriction (of the substitution) to ik is when the substitutes are enjoined by the names or saṅjñās guṇa and vṛiddhi—not where the letters themselves are named as substitutes." This would appear from the fact that the terms guṇa and vṛiddhi are expressly mentioned in the sūtra before us when they might have well been omitted inasmuch as they are valid in it from the two preceding sūtras. The term इकः is therefore not supplied in VII. 2, 102, VII. 1, 85 and VII. 1, 84 or in other similar sūtras, and hence the letters अ, आ and औ are substituted for the finals of इदम्, पथिन् and दिव् respectively, and not for the vowel इ occurring in them.

We find nowhere instances of guṇa substituted for any other letters than those included in the pratyāhāra इक्, but we find vṛiddhi enjoined not only for इक् but also for the other vowels. There is, however, this distinction that where no mention is made of a vowel, for which vṛiddhi is to be substituted, there इकः must be supplied, while, when it is to be substituted for a short अ, the term अतः is specially mentioned, as in VII. 2, 116; and when it is to be substituted for *any* vowel the term अचः, the genitive singular of अच्, a pratyāhāra denoting all the vowels, is mentioned as in VII. 2, 115.

## न धातुलोप आर्धधातुके ॥ ४ ॥

धात्वंशलोपनिमित्त आर्धधातुके पर इको ये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्तुतस्ते न भवतः ॥ लोलुवः । पोपुवः । मरीमृजः ।

WHEN an ĀRDHADHĀTUKA AFFIX, WHICH IS THE CAUSE OF THE ELISION of a part OF A ROOT, FOLLOWS there shall NOT be guṇa and vṛiddhi of

*ik* which would otherwise obtain ; as *loluvaḥ, popuvaḥ, marīmṛijaḥ.*

The padas in this sūtra are न । धातुलोपे । आर्धधातुके ॥

"धातुलोपे" is a bahuvrīhi compound which is solved thus in the Kāśikā :—धात्वेकदेशो धातुः । तस्य लोपो यस्मिन्नार्धधातुके तदार्धधातुकं धातुलोपम् ॥

The root लूञ् may take the affix यङ् by III. 1, 22, and the form thus obtained is itself a root according to III. 1, 32. The ārdhadhātuka affix अच् taught in III. 1, 134 may be added to this form. The first portion of what ends in यङ् is reduplicated according to VI. 1, 9, and guṇa is substituted for the vowel of the first syllable of the reduplication by VII. 4, 82. The final consonants of लूञ्, यङ् and अच् are *its* according to I. 3, 3, and are elided by I. 3, 9. The affix अच् causes the elision (लुक्) of य by II. 4, 74. By this process we obtain लोलू + अ ॥ There is here an occasion for the application of VII. 3, 84, which requires that guṇa should be substituted for the final *ik* of a base when a sārvadhātuka or an ārdhadhātuka affix follows. According to this rule the vowel of लू should be changed to ओ before the affix अ, but as this is an ārdhadhātuka affix and has caused the elision of य, a part of the root लूय, the sūtra before us prohibits the operation of VII. 3, 84. The ऊ of लोलू is therefore not changed to ओ, but उव् is substituted for it by VI. 4, 77. Thus लोलू + अ becomes लोलुव ॥ The base पोपुव is obtained in exactly the same way from the root पू ॥

यङ् being added to the root मृज्, and अच् to the form so obtained, and the root being re-duplicated in the way already explained, we get the following result :—मर + मृ + यङ् + अच ॥ The अ of the first syllable is elided

by VII. 4, 60, and the augment रीक् is added to it by VII. 4, 90. In this augment the क् is an *it*, the purpose of which is to shew that the augment is to be added *after* the syllable and not *before* it (I. 1, 46). अच् as already stated causes the elision of यङ्, and the form we get at this stage is मरीमृज् + अ ॥ There is here an occasion for the application of VII. 2, 114, which requires the vṛiddhi change of the vowel of मृज् but the present rule prohibits the operation of VII. 2, 114, and the form remains unaltered.

The examples in the vṛitti are obtained by adding सु, the affix of the first case singular, to the bases लोलुव, पोपुव and मरीमृज ॥ (VIII. 2, 66, VIII. 3, 15.)

There are some words in the formation of which it would *at first sight* appear that this rule has been violated. A few examples in illustration of this may be given here :—

(*a*) When the affix तास् with the augment इट् followed by ङ (II. 4, 85) follows the root लूञ्, the substitution of guṇa for ऊ by VII. 3, 84, is not prevented by this rule, although तास् is an ārdhadhātuka affix and ञ् is elided; because ञ् is no part of the root लू, and even if it be considered a part, its elision is not caused by the affix तास् but by virtue of its being an *it* (I. 3, 3, 9,) लू + इतास् + ङ becomes therefore लविता ॥ (VI. 4, 143, I. 1, 64.)

(*b*) The root रिष् takes the ārdhadhātuka affix क्विच् by III. 2, 75. Lopa is substituted for the इ and च् of this affix by I. 3, 9, and for its व् by VI. 1, 67, and thus the whole affix disappears. According to I. 1, 62, the affix still exerts its influence, and therefore it would, as if present, cause the substitution of guṇa for the vowel of रिष् by VII. 3, 86. The present rule does not pre-

vent the operation of VII. 3, 86 in this case, because it only contemplates the elision of part of a root and not the elision of an affix. रिष् + क्विच् therefore gives रेट् ॥ (VIII. 2, 39, VIII. 4, 56.)

(*c*) When the root रु takes यङ्, the affix तिप् coming after it may optionally take the augment ईट् by VII. 3, 94, and the य may be elided by II. 4, 74. The ट् of ईट् is an *it*, and shows that the augment is to precede तिप् ॥ The form रोरु + ईति having been thus obtained, the question arises whether the substitution of guṇa for उ required by VII. 3, 84, would be prevented by the sūtra before us. This question is answered in the negative, because although the elision of य, a part of the root रुय, has been caused by the affix तिप्, yet this affix is sārvadhātuka and not ārdhadhātuka. Hence the result we get is रोरवीति ॥ (VI. 1, 78.)

(*d*) When the affix चिण् (III. 1, 66) follows the root भञ्ज् the nasal is optionally elided by VI. 4, 33, leaving only भज्. The affix चिण्, as it has the anubandha ण्, would cause the vṛiddhi change of the vowel अ of भज् by VII. 2, 116. This vṛiddhi change is not prevented by the present rule, because, although चिण् is an ārdhadhātuka affix and has caused the elision of ञ्, a part of the root भञ्ज्, yet the rule we are considering prevents the vṛiddhi change of इक् and not of any other vowel. We thus get the word अभाजि ॥ (VI. 4, 104.)

(*e*) When the root स्विद् is followed by the ārdhadhātuka affix मनिन् ( मन् ) its final consonant द् is elided by VI. 1, 66. Here the guṇa change of the penultimate इ is not prevented by the present rule because the elision of द्, part of the root स्विद्, is not caused by the affix मनिन् but by its first letter म ॥ We thus get आस्वेमाणम् ॥

## ङ्किति च ॥ ५ ॥

गित्किन्ङिन्निमित्ते इग्लक्षणे गुणवृद्धी न स्तः ॥ गित् । जिष्णुः ॥ कित् । चितः । भिन्नः ॥ ङित् । चिनुतः । मृष्टः । मृष्टात् ॥

AND there are not guṇa and vṛiddhi, indicated by the term ik, WHEN THAT WHICH would otherwise cause the change HAS G or K or N' as an IT or indicatory letter; as *jiṣṇuḥ*, in which the affix has an indicatory *g*; *citaḥ*, *bhinnaḥ*, in which the affixes have an indicatory *k*; *cinutaḥ*, *mṛiṣṭaḥ*, *mṛiṣṭāt*, in which the affixes have an indicatory *ṅ*.

ङ्किति is the locative singular of ङ्कित्, a bahuvrīhi compound, meaning "that which has an indicatory *g* or *k* or *ṅ*." Its first letter क् has been substituted for ग् according to the sandhi rule VIII. 4, 55.

An explanation of the formation of the examples given in the vṛitti will illustrate the meaning and object of the sūtra.

ग् ॥ The sūtra III. 2, 139 teaches that the affix क्नु, in which the क् is an assimilated ग् (VIII. 4, 55), comes after the root जि. This ग् is an *it* as it occurs at the beginning of the affix (I. 3, 8); and by virtue of its presence in the affix the guṇa change of the vowel of जि, which would otherwise be caused by VII. 3, 84, is prevented by the present sūtra. जि + क्नु gives therefore जिष्णुः (VIII. 3, 59, VIII. 4, 41) and not जेष्णुः ॥

क् ॥ When क्त, the affix of the passive participle, in which the क् is an it (I. 3, 8), follows the root चि, the guṇa change of the vowel of the root is prevented by

the sūtra we are examining, and the form obtained is चितः, not चेतः ॥

ङ् ॥ When तस्, the affix of the 3rd per. du. pres., follows the root चि, and the vikaraṇa affix श्नु, (III. 1, 73) in which the श् is an it (I. 3, 8), is added to the latter, श्नु would cause the guṇa change of the final of the base चि, and तस् the guṇa change of the final of the base चिनु. But as श्नु and तस् are regarded as having an indicatory ङ् (I. 2, 4) the guṇa change of these vowels is prevented by the sūtra before us. चि + श्नु + तस् gives therefore चिनुतः ॥ For a similar reason when the affix तस् is added to मृज् the vṛiddhi change of the vowel of this root required by VII. 2, 114 is prevented, and मृज् + तस् gives मृष्टः (VIII. 2, 36. VIII. 4, 41).

The example मृष्टात् given in the vṛitti is formed by the addition to मृज् of तातङ्, a substitute taught by VII. 1, 35 for the affixes तु and हि. In तातङ् the penultimate अ and the final ङ् are indicatory letters (I. 1, 2, 3) and the true affix is तात्. The vṛiddhi change of मृज्, already referred to, being prevented by the indicatory ङ् of तातङ् according to the present rule, we get the form मृष्टात्. (VIII. 2, 36. VIII. 4, 41.)

It is not the guṇa and vṛiddhi change of final vowels only but of penultimate short vowels also that is prevented by the rule before us. Thus when the affix क्त is added to भिद् the इ of this root would be changed to guṇa by VII. 3, 86, but as the affix has an indicatory क् the present sūtra prevents the guṇa change, and भिद्+क्त gives भिन्नः (VIII. 2, 42).

It must here be remarked that when an affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क् or ङ् follows the root मृज्, the vṛiddhi change of its vowel is

only *optionally* prevented, as, for instance, when the affix झि (अन्ति VII. 1, 3) follows मृज्. This affix is regarded as having an indicatory ङ् (I. 2, 4), and would therefore prevent the vṛiddhi change of the vowel of मृज्. As, however, the affix begins with a vowel, it prevents the change only optionally, and we therefore get the forms परिमृजन्ति and परिमार्ज्जन्ति. This is expressed thus in the Kāśikā:—मृजेरजादौ सङ्ग्मे विभाषा वृद्धिरिष्यते । सङ्ग्मो नाम गुणवृद्धिप्रतिषेधविषयः ॥

It is only the guṇa and vṛiddhi change indicated by the term ik or, as it is called, the iglakṣaṇa guṇa and vṛiddhi, that is prevented by this rule. This will appear from the following illustrations.

When the affix णिङ्, in which ङ् and ण् are its (I. 3, 3, 7), follows the root कम् as taught in III. 1, 30 the ण् of the affix would cause the vowel of the root to be changed to vṛiddhi (VII. 2, 116). As this vṛiddhi change is not indicated by the term ik the ङ् of the affix would not prevent it by the present rule, and we get कामि. Again the sūtra VI. 4, 146 teaches that when a taddhita affix follows a bha (I. 4, 18) ending in उ, guṇa is substituted for this vowel, as, for instance, when फक् (आयन VII. 1, 2) follows लिगु. The क् of फक् does not prevent the guṇa change of उ by the present sūtra, because this guṇa change is not indicated by ik and the form obtained is लैगवायनः ॥ This is stated thus in the following vārttika :—

तद्धितकाम्योरिक्प्रकरणात् ॥

When ल्, which represents the tense affixes, has an indicatory ङ् as लङ् लिङ् लुङ् लङ् one would expect that its substitutes taught in III. 4, 78 should also have

this indicatory letter according to the maxim laid down in I. 1, 56, and that these substitutes should therefore prevent, by the present sūtra, the guṇa change which they would otherwise cause in terms of VII. 3, 84 and 86, as, for instance, when अम् the substitute of मिप् (III. 4, 101), which is itself a substitute of लङ् (III. 4, 78), follows the base सुनु (सु with the vikaraṇa affix श्नु). We find, however, Pāṇini expressly enjoining by the sūtra III. 4, 103 that यासुट् shall be the augment of the parasmāipada substitutes of लिङ् and that then these substitutes shall have an indicatory ङ्॥ This is regarded as a jñāpaka, and the inference is drawn from it that the substitutes of a ल् having an indicatory ङ् are not, on that account, regarded as having this indicatory letter by I. 1, 56, so far as operations caused by anything following which has an indicatory ङ् are concerned. This doctrine is thus laid down in the following vārttika:—

**लकारस्य ङित्वादादेशेषु स्थानिवद्भावप्रसङ्ग इति चेद्यासुटो ङिद्वचनात्सिद्धम् ॥**

सुनु + अम् would therefore give असुनवम् (VI. 4, 71. VI. 1, 78).

The reading, given above, of this sūtra is as we find it in the Kāśikā and Siddhānta Kaumudī. Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patanjali appear to have written the first term with only one क्. The same remark applies to the sūtra VII. 2, 11, in which the second term was written by the earlier grammarians "किति" and by the later "कित्." If these two sūtras were written as they had been by Pāṇini, several incorrect forms would result from the application of the sūtra III. 2, 139 already

quoted, which teaches that the affix क्नु comes after the roots ग्लै, जि, स्था and भू. The क् in क्नु must be regarded as an actual क् and not as an assimilated ग् if the two sūtras referred to were written in the way we find them in Pāṇini. It is true that this क् would, by the sūtra now before us, prevent the guṇa change of the vowels of जि and भू, and, by VII. 2, 11, the addition of the augment इट् to the affix after भू* as required by VII. 2, 35, and enable us to obtain the correct forms जिष्णुः and भूष्णुः; but when we proceed to add the affix to स्था, we meet with a serious difficulty. The sūtra VI. 4, 66 teaches that when an affix beginning with a consonant and having an indicatory क् follows स्था, the vowel of this root should be changed to ई ॥ स्था + क्नु will therefore give the incorrect form स्थिष्णुः ॥ If we endeavour to get over this difficulty by stating that क् is an assimilated ग्, then there would be nothing in the affix to prevent the guṇa change of the vowels of जि and भू and the addition of the augment इट् to the affix, according to VII. 2, 35, when it follows भू; and consequently we would obtain the incorrect forms जेष्णुः and भविष्णुः† ॥ The later grammarians found a simple expedient for removing these difficulties. They regarded the क् in क्नु as an assimilated ग् and added ग् to कुिति in the present sūtra and to किति in VII. 2, 11. The ग् then, while it does not cause the change of the vowel of स्था to ई, does prevent, by the sūtra before us, the guṇa change of the vowels of जि and भू, and, by VII. 2, 11, the addition of the augment इट् to the affix when it is added to भू.

* The augment इट् is not added to the affix after जि, as this root has a single vowel and is anudātta. See VII. 2, 10.

† The word भविष्णुः is also met with in the Veda, but it is formed with the affix इष्णुच्. See iii. 2, 138.

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